

THE MATERIAL CULTURE

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This description of the domestic equipment relates to most of the houses in Tepoztlán. A conspicuous minority, however, as has already been indicated, enjoy elements of modern industrial civilization. A house of this limited class may possess a few china dishes, or a few glasses, some metal pans, perhaps a sideboard or a metal bed or even a phonograph. The sewing machine alone, however, among modern machines, has become a part of the general Tepoztecan material culture; it is found in all parts of the village and in houses otherwise Indian in character. 177
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Cookery¹ has been but slightly modified by European elements. The most important foodstuffs contributed by European culture are beef, pork, sugar, rice, chickens, eggs, and milk. Less important contributions are potatoes, lima beans, wheat flour, chick-peas, citrus fruits, and spices. The maize-squash-beans complex remains, however, the basis of cookery. These staples were and still are cooked with *chiles* and tomatoes. Honey is still used as a sweetening, but has been largely supplanted by cane sugar. Cinnamon has displaced the native vanilla. The apparatus of cookery and the accompanying techniques are almost untouched by European influence. Maize is boiled with lime and ground on the *metate* to a dough which is the basis of a variety of foods. Chief among these is the *tortilla* (N. *tlaxcalli*), the inevitable griddle-bread which accompanies every meal both as a food and as an eat- 177
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[263]
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[177]
[264]

¹ See Margaret Park Redfield, art., "Notes on the Cookery of Tepoztlán, Morelos."

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whorls (*S. malacate*; *N. malacatl*) which abound in Tepoztlán and are simply picked up in any yard and used. Even in the few surviving primitive looms, however, commercial thread is used. There are at least two of these looms still in operation in Tepoztlán. They are used only to weave women's belts. The structure and somewhat detailed nomenclature of this loom cannot find room for discussion here. The web is set up on a framework (*N. tzatzastin*) of ten short sticks driven into the ground. The upper end of the loom is fastened to a house or tree; the lower end is drawn tight with the backstrap (*N. analoni*).¹

Of industries relying on special machinery there are two: the mill, to which is brought for grinding only a small part of the maize eaten in Tepoztlán,² and the mixing and bottling of soft drinks of carbonated water and artificial flavoring. Several men are occupied with this enterprise, and the product is largely consumed.

This fusion of Indian with Spanish features produces, it will readily be seen, three classes of culture traits: unaltered Indian elements; elements which have developed in Mexico from the impinging of Spanish features upon a homologous Indian pattern; and European elements transported intact to Mexico.

¹ Mena says, and probably rightly, that the entire loom is called *analoni*. But these particular informants used the term for the backstrap only. [114]

² There are three reasons why the mill has only a limited use: to many the slight cost is prohibitive; husbands assert that the flavor of *tortillas* made of mill-ground *nixtamal* is very inferior; and, finally, to bring her maize regularly to the mill to the neglect of her *metate* lowers a woman in her neighbors' eyes. [252]
[558]

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177 These three classes are respectively represented, for
 184 example, in costume by the sandals, the *zarape*, and
 the trousers, and in agricultural tools by the pointed
 stick, the *coa*,¹ and the plow. But while a separation
 of Indian from European elements is of interest to the
 culture-historian, it is of no interest to the native of
 Tepoztlán. The integration of certain European ele-
 ments with Indian features is complete. Although few
 introduced elements bear completely Nahuatl names
 (the *machete* is one exception),² the Tepoztecan is un-
 conscious of any difference between these and pre-
 Columbian elements. He feels the same with regard
 to his sandals, which are almost wholly Indian in ori-
 gin, as he does with regard to his white trousers,
 which are wholly European. The *machete* is as Mexi-
 can as the *petate*.

There is, however, a grouping of culture traits which
 corresponds to the prevailing attitude of the Tepozte-
 cans themselves. So far as surviving Indian elements
 and as certain European elements are concerned, the
 integration is complete. The culture just described,
 involving elements of both cultural heritages, is that
 which is general throughout Tepoztlán. But not all of

[412] ¹ The *coa* is the flat iron hoe with the blade set parallel with the handle. It
 preserves the curved edge and the function (it is used to heap up earth around the
 maize) of the aboriginal *huictli*, but it is now made of iron and has probably some-
 what changed its shape.

² In speaking Nahuatl one uses the Spanish word modified to fit Nahuatl
 phonetics and morphology. Mariano Rojas, a native of Tepoztlán, in his *Manual
 de la lengua Nahuatl* (Mexico, 1927), lists Nahuatl names for many articles of
 European origin, but most of these, while intelligible, are the artificial constructs
 of a linguist, and few are in general use.

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the imported traits found in Tepoztlán have entered into this general culture. Some traits of material culture occur in Tepoztlán, particularly in houses near the central *plaza*, which are not a part of the general culture. Though perfectly familiar, they are possessed only by individuals more used to modern city customs, and are regarded by the majority of the population as exterior to the common life. Features such as these have not entered into the culture because too expensive (brick floors; iron grilles) or because their general acceptance would involve radical changes in existing techniques (the fork). There is, therefore, a classification which corresponds with subjective categories, between the integrated Tepoztecan culture, on the one hand, and secondary, exterior elements, on the other. These exterior elements are thought of as attributes of city life, that is, of modern industrial civilization. They are brought down to Tepoztlán by people used to city ways. When a Tepoztecan goes to the city he to a certain extent temporarily assumes the material culture of the metropolis. He has, not infrequently, a separate costume for city wear: dark trousers, a dark hat, and shoes, worn only on visits to the city. This simple fact expresses the nature of the community of Tepoztlán: no longer a primitive tribal society nor yet an urbanized community, it must nevertheless be defined, as it tends to define itself, with reference to the world-wide city culture within which it is now included.

The following table lists some features of the ma-

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action which is implied by such frequent travel, the villages composing this natural community remain separate and individual. The social intercourse of five hundred years or more has not destroyed the cultural peculiarities of each hamlet. This is because a change of residence is not common. Among the men of Tepoztlán very few—a guess would suggest fifty—were born outside the valley. More of the women are from other parts of Mexico. And even among the villages composing the community there is infrequent migration. The inhabitants cling closely to their ancestral lands. During part of the past period of revolution (1910-17) Tepoztlán was deserted; many of the houses were destroyed; yet when peace came most of the population returned, each family again to occupy the same housesite, to cultivate the same *milpa*, as they and their fathers had before.

Some of the cultural differences between villages have their origin in geographic differences. The most important concept of direction in Tepoztlán has to do with altitude. As in Polynesian islands where directions are not given in terms of the compass points but rather as "toward the sea" or "away from the sea," so in Tepoztlán a location with reference to the speaker is not usually given in terms of north, south, east, or west but is instead described as "down below" or "a little way above." The general appearance of the hamlet of San Juanico differs markedly from that of Tepoztlán. The two are no more than four miles apart, but one is two thousand feet above the other.

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184 Therefore the flora is different; and furthermore the
137 soil is not suitable for *adobe*, so that most of the houses
312 are of cane, straw, or wattle.

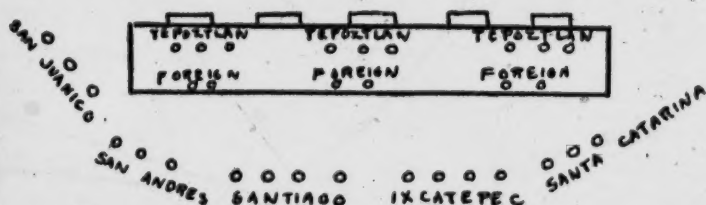
438 Differences in altitude and in aridity produce dif-
ferences in the sorts of natural products of these eight
villages; thus it comes about that villages have agri-
cultural and economic specialties. San Juanico fur-
[278] nishes *tejocotes* (*manzanillas*), and a variety of medic-
[317] inal herbs which grow only at a high altitude. San
[252] Andres, situated on a limestone ridge, contributes the
lime, burned in its kilns, in which all maize is cooked.
Santiago is a warmer and better-watered village than
the others, and its inhabitants supply tomatoes, sugar
cane, and sapotes. The people of Ixcatepec specialize
in honey, and those of arid Santa Catarina often bring
acacia pods (*S. guajes*; *N. huexi*).

443 This economic specialization facilitates exchange at
the bi-weekly market. Every Wednesday and every
Sunday morning fifty to a hundred vendors gather in
the central *plaza* of Tepoztlán. Some of these are from

[439] Tepoztlán itself, some from the tributary hamlets,
and a few from villages outside the community. The
merchant simply squats on his heels on the *plaza*, or
under the *portales* in front of the permanent shops, or
he may sit on a stone, displaying his wares in little
piles. For the privilege of occupying such a space the
[651] municipal government exacts a "floor tax" (*derecho de*
piso). The positions taken by the merchants do not
vary substantially from week to week, nor, indeed,
from generation to generation; those from each sur-

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rounding hamlet sit always together, and always in the same absolute and relative position. The merchants come by villages, and sit by villages; and the differences between them are further emphasized by the fact that the products they sell are largely different, as one village group is compared with another. There is thus the following permanent market pattern:



Amatlán also has an economic specialty: the making of beds of cane;¹ but Amatlán and Santo Domingo, as has already been stated, are less firmly associated with the rest of the valley community, and their inhabitants do not regularly bring goods to sell at the market. [438]

Differences between the villages are not limited to those brought about by geographic factors. The stability of populations, even within the small confines of this natural community, and the local nature of traditional loyalties, have made it possible for other cultural distinctions to survive. Outside of the Tepoztlán community, such differences are, of course, more marked. Yautepec is no more than fifteen miles away, but a native of Tepoztlán may tell a traveler coming [171] [194] [291]

¹ Not verified by personal observation.

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171 from Yautepec at a considerable distance because he
 [291] wears his trousers shorter and tighter and because he
 [197] is likely to wear a handkerchief at his neck. It is also
 [197] probable that there are dialectic differences¹ which
 •184 distinguish Yautepec from Tepoztlán. Of differences
 between hamlets within the community there are
 probably many. In Santa Catarina beans are first
 [252] toasted and then boiled with much *epazote*,² whereas
 in Tepoztlán that staple is not toasted and the boiling
 is usually without *epazote*. No statistical proof can be
 [582] offered here of the statement, which in Tepoztlán is
 [829] generally accepted as representing the fact, that in
 San Andres marriage takes place, "according to an-
 cient custom," generally at the age of twelve to six-
 teen, whereas in Tepoztlán the ages are most com-
 monly from eighteen to twenty-four.

628 In spite of local differences, the eight villages are
 184 bound together by certain institutions in which each
 182 village has a share. Chief of these institutions are the
 common lands, the market, and the traditional festal
 and ceremonial organization. The bi-weekly inter-
 change of goods and gossip at the market has already
 been briefly described. The other two principal inte-
 grating factors require more comment.

423 The common lands³ of the community constitute
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¹ Differences in Spanish spoken. Little Nahuatl is spoken at Yautepec, which, although a pre-Columbian site, is now largely a *mestizo* community.

² *Chenopodium ambrosioides* L. This statement rests on the account of one informant.

³ The general subject of "The Land Systems of Mexico" is admirably treated in G. M. McBride's book of that title, previously cited.

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It is clear that topographic factors have been of some significance in fixing *barrio* boundaries. In many cases there is now a *barranca* or a sudden declivity where one *barrio* ends and another begins. This is especially notable in the cases of the boundaries between San Pedro and Los Reyes, Los Reyes and Santa Cruz, Los Reyes and San Sebastian, La Santísima and Santo Domingo. Tepoztlán, it has already been observed, is situated on a steep slope, and the *barrios* occur in the order previously given from the upper end of the slope to the lower. If one looks at the town from the mountains on the south side of the valley, the seven chapels appear in a ranking series, one above another. This relation may be indicated in the following diagram. San Miguel extends over two levels.

San Pedro
Los Reyes
San Sebastian
and Santa Cruz
La Santísima
and San Miguel
San Miguel and
Santo Domingo

It is worthy of note that those pairs of *barrios* which occur at the same level resemble one another in cultural features more than other pairs. Thus, San Sebastian and Santa Cruz have special similarities in occupations and religious sentiments and bear the same animal appellation (as will be later explained); while in the case of San Miguel and La Santísima one

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621 of the principal streets runs continuously on the same
 [184] level through the two *barrios* and the pair are much
 alike and co-operate for the carnival and for other
fiestas.

The Tepoztecos are conscious of the part played by
 these geographic features. During an annual *fiesta* an
 [536] actor impersonating their eponymous "king," El Te-
 pozteco, recites a traditional rôle in Nahuatl in the
 course of which, as he is defying the besieging armies
 of other neighboring villages, he says, "*Ica huelonca:n*
 [534] *nechmoyohualotica nahui no tepe, chicome tlattelli, chi-*
come tlaconomli, ihuan chicome tlaltimimilolli" ("Here
 I am surrounded by my four mountains, seven hills,
 seven wells and seven stony hillsides"). This is clearly
 a reference, in topographic terms, to the *barrios*.

The word *barrio* is frequently translated "ward,"
 but "ward" does not correctly suggest the nature of
 the unit. In the first place the *barrio* is not a political
 unit. For purposes of municipal government the town
 has been divided into seven *demarcaciones*. It is plain
 that the *barrios* have been the general pattern for the
 creation of the *demarcaciones*, but the boundaries of
 the two sets of units do not coincide. People do not
 know what *demarcación* they live in; many are prob-
 ably ignorant that such an artificial unit exists. In
 the second place, while one becomes a member of a
 "ward," as we know it, merely by going and living in
 that area, one may not in this way become a member
 of a *barrio*. Membership in the *barrio* is, generally
 speaking, hereditary. In most cases people live on the

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438 wood, are drawn together by their common occupa-
 476 tion. More marked is the part played by the twisting
 621 of ropes of maguey fiber among the inhabitants of
 [372] San Sebastian. This industry, introduced a generation
 [283] ago by an emigrant to Tepoztlán, has spread to few
 [439] houses outside of the *barrio* in which he settled; but in
 San Sebastian almost every household is so occupied,
 and when there is an important fair in some larger
 town in the state, the men of San Sebastian will go
 there almost in a body to market their lassos and
riatas.

- 184 The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cul-
 621 tures, or, what is the same thing, different personal-
 829 ities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are
 recognized by the Tepoztecos themselves, and at least
 the more reflective of them can express the differences
 they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized
barrio, and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly con-
 scious of national feeling). Their chapel is decorated
 with Mexican flags; a modern orchestra was organized
 here, etc. Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Cath-
 olic, exclusive, and independent—"Santa Cruz governs
 itself like a little republic." San Pedro is a *barrio* of
 poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked ex-
 tent ancient mentality and resent the presence of out-
 siders in their midst, etc.

103 The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an
 621 expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*.
 829 These names are in Nahuatl and are in every case the
 names of animals. The names are:

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82/ them from the sky. They covet gold; now that the
776 rains have begun and the voices of the *ahuahque* are
[172] frequently heard, women who most fear them take off
[301] their gold earrings for fear that the *ahuahque* might
strike them dead so as to take the jewels.

243 People are busy now, and contented. There is work
[221] for all the men in the *milpas*. The ground is prepared
with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very stony
[231] earth there are a few steel plowshares. Oxen, less com-
monly horses or mules, draw the plow. By now the
corn is a foot high up at San Juan, but in Tepoztlán a
hotter sun demands that the maize be planted after
the rains have come. By the middle of June most of
the *milpas* are planted. At San Juan the grain is
[184] dropped into holes made with a pointed stick. In Te-
poztlán it is dribbled along in furrows; afterward the
earth is heaped up around the young plant with the
coa, the flat hoe with a curved blade.

*796 June 15.—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the
[533] *Templo Mayor* because tomorrow is the *fiesta* of
Corpus Christi.

In May or June.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of
Corpus Christi, *Jueves de corpos*. Some go to Yaute-
[439] pec or to Cuernavaca to buy little *burros* made of
[484] straw bearing crates of fruits and sweets.

July 22.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the hamlet
[774] of Amatlán. (This is the saint day of Mary Magda-
lene, patron of this village.)

[535] July 25.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the village
of Santiago. *Los Apaches* dance at both these *fiestas*.

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121 church. The technique of the obstetrician is remote from the religious ritual of baptism; the practical problem of disposing of a dead body is attacked by a practical specialist, while the expression of the feelings of the bereaved is assisted by conventionalized ritual which is religious rather than magical.

177 Such, at least, is the suggestion coming from the
184 literature; it is made also by the materials from Tepoztlán. In this village the practices followed by one family or another on occasions of marriage, death, and most particularly birth, probably differ considerably; and these differences will, it seems clear, be found to depend largely on the degree of sophistication of the family considered. *Los tontos* preserve the old-traditional practices; with them the magical and the practical are still an inseparable whole. An in-

[844]formant from this group describes the practice of putting tallow on the umbilical cord of a newborn child and that of burying the placenta underneath the fireplace with no feeling that these customs are of different sorts; because in her group they are no different. Both equally affect welfare; one might just as well be omitted as the other. The midwife is magician-

[846]priest rather than obstetrician; she eats the same food
[759]as her patient as long as their relation of intimacy is maintained during postnatal care. But among *los correctos* there is probably a tendency to relegate the non-practical usages to the rank of superstitions, and to omit them entirely. This tendency grows, and

[182]grows slowly; the society is not breaking down; it is merely changing, and the gradual process of change

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can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*. 177
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The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecán life may be at least outlined. 128
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A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzacxochilt* so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth. 843

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [*S. partera*; *N. amantecat*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved 844
[846]
[755]
[115]

* The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta*; and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontas* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals. [184]

* *Laetium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb. [278]

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reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children. 853
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Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm." 854

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations. Confirmation takes place at about eight years. 857
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868
852
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It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par- 582
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* There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderos* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them." 842

* No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience. 864

THE "SANTO" AND THE "VETERANO" 195

ready been stated,¹ each of the seven *barrios* has likewise its special protector. There are usually a number of images in each church, but only one, usually enshrined in the principal altar, is the local guardian. (In the chapels of the *barrios* there is often² only the one image: that of the namesake and patron of the *barrio*.) It is the particular effigy that is venerated; reports³ are plentiful of the refusal of the people to accept a new effigy of the saint as at all the equivalent of the old.

The people who live in the community presided over by the *santo* have a particular and exclusive attitude toward his protection. It is they primarily who make offerings on his name day; and it is they who have the task and the pleasure of maintaining his chapel, his cornfield, and his vestments. And they are rewarded with his special care. "San Sebastian," said a man of that *barrio*, "is the most miraculous *santo* in Tepoztlán. Therefore we are the most fortunate *barrio*. He appears to us in dreams and gives us advice."

Around these *santos* tend to cluster legends of their miraculous power.

Our *santo* [of Santa Cruz] is very miraculous. Therefore we venerate it. When the Carranzistas, during the revolution, tried to break into the chapel, their bullets flattened on the door and refused to enter. One man went in and started toward the altar. He fell dead at the foot of the altar. It is a very miraculous

¹ Chap. iv.

² La Santa Cruz is one exception.

³ Gamio, *La población del valle de Tzotihuacán*, II, 215; Adán, art., "Las danzas de Coatepeco."

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243 clearing. After planting there is also considerable leeway before the first and only
 461 weeding. This is not the case in plow culture. Although there is considerable leeway
 221 in the time of planting, once planting has been done, the cultivations must follow
 soon after at regular intervals or the yields will be cut appreciably. Furthermore,
 there is need to take advantage of dry days when the oxen can get into the field.
 The differences between the work cycles of the two systems are shown in Chart 2.

CHART 2. Comparison of Work Cycles in Plow and Hoe Culture, 1944.

FLOW CULTURE	MONTH	HOE CULTURE
	JANUARY	
	FEBRUARY	Clear land with machete and ox.
No work in fields.	MARCH	No work.
	APRIL	
	MAY	Burning brush, fencing, seeding.
Clearing land, plowing and seeding.	JUNE	
	JULY	Reseeding.
First cultivation. Second cultivation. Third cultivation.	AUGUST	Weeding.
Visits to field.	SEPTEMBER	
Weeding.	OCTOBER	Visits to field.
Stripping corn stalks.	NOVEMBER	
Harvesting and transporting corn.	DECEMBER	Harvesting and transporting corn.

It will be seen that the agricultural year begins at different times in each case. The *tlacoleros* begin work very soon after the harvest and work through the larger part of the dry season, while the farmers of plow culture let their land rest, except for a relatively few farmers who plow new land in January or March. The fact that different farm families in the same village are engaged in different activities during the same season of the year adds to the complexity of village life. Here again, the picture of homogeneity in activities which is so often associated with so-called folk cultures has to be modified. Most *tlacoleros* are through planting before planting begins in plow culture, and many accept work as peons in plow culture. However, during late July and early August the peak labor season for plow culture finds *tlacoleros* busy in their own fields. Similarly, harvest comes at the same time in both systems and it is at this time that there is a labor shortage in the village. Many Tepoztecos have described this overlapping of work cycles as a conflict of interests between *tlacoleros* and milpa owners, for the latter are unable to get sufficient hired help.

243 A comparison of the yields of the two types of agriculture reveals that hoe
 433 culture yields are equal to the best yields in plow culture and are generally about
 twice as high as the average yields of plow culture. These larger yields make hoe

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876 "bad" boys. Other punishments are keeping a child in during the recreation hour; reporting bad behavior to the parents; giving out tasks, such as sweeping the classroom or yard, working in the garden, or writing an assigned sentence one hundred times. One girl was locked up in the henhouse for hitting other children. Parents generally approve of physical punishment in the school, and some think the school is now too lenient. In the past, it was common practice for parents who could not control their children at home to ask the teacher to discipline them. Children who are punished in school rarely tell their parents about it for fear that they will be punished a second time at home. Causes for punishment in school are inattentiveness, not knowing the lesson, fighting, and disobedience.

593 Other methods are also used to instill fear in the child. It is common for parents, particularly mothers, to threaten to desert their children, playing on the children's fear of becoming orphans. One mother said that she can get obedience from her children by telling them that she will stop eating and die so that they will have to live with a cruel stepmother. Children are told that if they are naughty they will be carried off by a stranger who will make soap out of them. Any passer-by, and recently the *gringo*, is used to frighten children in this way. In Tepoztlán, where children have occasion to see many tourists and outsiders coming and going, the fear of strangers has worn off, but in the nearby smaller villages children run to hide when an unfamiliar person appears in the streets.

593 Many mothers and grandmothers tell children stories of owls and coyotes coming out at night to eat bad children and of bats and opossums that drink blood. Children who lie or disobey are told that they will turn into devils and burn in hell. 861 They are told that badness is always punished in some unexpected way, such as being bitten by a mad dog, and that goodness is rewarded with good luck. 538

[825] The sound of a child crying appears to be a particular source of irritation in adults, especially in men, and children are frequently frightened into silence by threats of punishment. The story of Cahuasohuanton, a spirit who listens outside [152] the walls of the house and imitates the child crying, is told to frighten crying children into silence. The story, translated from the Náhuatl, goes as follows: [776]

[773] Once it happened that a child was crying a great deal, and his parents told him to lie down and go to sleep. He did not want to and sat near the hearth crying. His parents kept telling him to stop and then they fell asleep. After a while they awoke and heard a voice saying, "Cahuasohuanton yo ni concua," or "Cahuasohuanton has eaten him." The parents stood up and lighted a candle and there, near the hearth they saw the child dead, with his abdomen torn open and his intestines out and they knew that Cahuasohuanton had been there.

[776] Cahuasohuanton is a very fear-inspiring figure and children invariably cease crying when told that he is coming.

593 Frightening children is sometimes done for the amusement of adults. One informant remembered being very frightened as a child when his favorite uncle, after 861 having told some ghost stories, suddenly told the child to run because a ghost was 522

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There is much variety in the treatment and care of infants and children in Tepoztlán because of individual differences and because of the presence of groups representing different cultural and economic levels. The most obvious contrasting practices in child care are those of the more acculturated families and those with only minimal contacts with the outside. The distinction between these two groups is not always clear-cut. Sometimes the mother represents one group and the father the other, reflecting the state of transition which pervades the village and complicates the discussion of customs in no small measure. Frequently there is no difference in customs as such, but rather in the practice of them.

INFANCY

At the birth of a child there is no celebration, and generally little fuss is made. When the first-born is a son, there are usually expressions of pleasure on the part of the father and relatives. But many mothers describe the arrival of their children as causing "neither joy nor argument," and frequently complain of their husband's indifference at the birth of a child. Men do, in fact, maintain an attitude of reserve but often respond to a new arrival by working harder. More modern men do not conceal pleasure at the birth of a child, and behave much the way new fathers do in our society. Gifts are not traditionally given to the child, although some of the more acculturated do this and invite friends in to drink and to eat *mole*.

It is believed that the first weeks of life are dangerous, for the infant is particularly susceptible to the "evil eye," "bad humors," and *los aires*. Non relatives are not encouraged to see a newborn child, though the more modern families permit it after a few days. Babies sleep behind a curtain and are protected from "bad humors" with *ruda* and chile which are placed in the form of a cross beneath the pillow or mattress of the cradle, and by a few drops of iodine on their clothing. Some families hang a gallstone, taken from the gall bladder of a bull, around the child's wrist to protect him from the "evil eye." This is no longer done in some of the better educated families. After one month, a centavo may be hung on a string around the child's neck to protect him from whooping cough. Some tie on a little

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ences to be kept in mind. In Tepoztlán, adolescents generally work for their parents and do not attend school. Thus, rather than becoming more of an economic burden at this time, they are a decided economic asset to the family. The dependence of the parents upon the children becomes clearer during adolescence, and as a result the young people tend to have a more secure position in the family. The strongly authoritarian family and other factors have tended to produce passive, dependent youths rather than youths noted for initiative, ambition, drive, and independence 883

In contrast with our own society, there is in Tepoztlán, with the outstanding exception of courtship and elopement, a notable absence of open "revolt" against the authority and example of parents or against local tradition. A very small percentage of the youths are willing or able to strike out on new paths or leave home to seek more profitable work elsewhere, and those who do, invariably have the support and backing of their parents. There is no pattern of running away from home "to seek one's fortune," although it may occur among boys when home conditions are unbearable.

The only evidences of a sharp break with tradition come from the small group of boys and girls who have studied outside the village and returned imbued with new customs and ideas. A small minority, they are nevertheless extremely important, since they serve as models for the youth of the village. Although few village youths imitate the style of dress and of manners of their educated neighbors, many undoubtedly would if they could. There is among the young people a vague desire for self-improvement and a more enjoyable, comfortable life. This wish finds immediate expression in a desire for better clothing, shoes, beds, and so on. *Señoritas* particularly want attractive dresses, jewelry, cold cream, fine soap, and talcum. The more sophisticated now use cosmetics, nail polish, and hair curlers, attend public dances, and have friends of their own. Some few even drink and smoke in great secrecy. Boys want free time and money for the new sports and to go to Cuernavaca occasionally. Almost all young people would like to travel, go to the city, attend movies, and have some money to spend. 177 184 883

These aspirations sometimes engender conflict with the parents, but in most cases the young people do not express their desires. Nevertheless, we heard parents complain that the young people are becoming more difficult to control.

In terms of behavior and experience, the period of adolescence has different, almost contrasting, significance for boys and girls. For girls, it brings added confinement, personal restrictions, chaperonage, the conflict and fear as well as the excitement of secret courtship, the discovery of which often brings shame and harsh punishment. Girls also assume at this time a greater burden of not entirely desirable work, with few rewards. Boys, on the other hand, have greater freedom than before and receive more respectful treatment at home. They do work which they generally enjoy and which brings many rewards. Youths have an increasing number of diversions in which most of them are free to indulge, and courtship is a source of satisfaction and sense of achievement. In view of these differences, a discussion of adolescence should consider the adolescent girl and boy separately. 883

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The maize samples may also be used to examine the comparative uniformity of harvested maize in the different barrios and pueblos. Uniformity of maize in Mexico and Central America is a rough measure of the pride and skill with which the maize crop has been selected and grown. Conservative Indian communities, which have preserved their old customs, have the most uniformity, skilled agriculturists are next in order, and the more or less urbanized *pobrecitos*, who have lost much of their Indian tradition, have the most variable maize crops. In this respect there is little difference between the barrios. They all have moderately uniform samples, much more uniform for example than similar samples from S. P. Tlaquepaque (Jalisco). The samples from the barrio of San Pedro are the most uniform of the lot. Among the pueblos, Ixcatepec is outstanding but in the other direction. All six of its samples are variable, two of them so markedly so as to reflect upon the integrity of its agricultural traditions.